1: Childs M-S (1924-1940) 1949 FP13 Mbundu FP13
Angola FP1

institutions or divisions have had little consideration in drawing administrative boundaries.

Systems of communications have been developed during the last forty years. The Benguela Railway, built by Sir Robert Williams and the Tanganyika Concessions, Ltd., was completed in 1931 from Lobito to Elisabethville in the Katanga region, where direct connexion is made with the South, Central, and East African systems of rail and water transport. This railway serves as the most direct outlet for the mines of the Congo and Northern Rhodesia. The great majority of native employees of the railway are Ovimbundu and it has also brought this people their first contact with the mines and with industrialized South Africa. Regular steamship connexion between Lobito and Europe includes Portuguese, Belgian, German, and British lines with occasional calls from American, Japanese, and Scandinavian ships.[1] Recent years have seen considerable extensions of telegraphic and radio service throughout the colony. Motor roads have been built extensively, especially on the plateau and along the watersheds. In addition there are many wagon-tracks for ox-wagons which were introduced by the voortrekkers almost seventy years ago. In many cases the routes followed are those first used by native caravans.

There are eleven missionary societies at work among the Ovimbundu: five Protestant and six Roman Catholic.[2] There is only one fully organized Umbundu Church. It includes the work of three Protestant societies. It is the work of this Church and of the Missions of the A.B.C.F.M.[3] and of the United Church of Canada with which the evaluations of this study are concerned. The Mission of the A.B.C.F.M. was founded in 1880, as the first Christian work undertaken among the Ovimbundu.[4]

[1] This was the situation in 1939. During the period of the war the Portuguese services were maintained, although with less regularity than before. The U.S. Maritime Commission maintained a cargo service. There were occasional calls by cargo vessels of various nationalities. The Belgian line is reopening its service (1946) and the Portuguese lines have acquired additional vessels.

[2] Pères du Saint-Esprit began work among the Ovimbundu in 1890; the Padres Seculares have been working in the towns; the Benedictines and several orders of nuns also have stations.

[3] American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.

[4] The two missions mentioned conduct their work in most respects as a single mission. The other Protestant societies do not have very extensive work among the Ovimbundu.

.: Childs M-5 (1924-1946) 1949 FP13 Mbundu FP13

621 four households with six houses. The school village had been laid
[346] but in rectangular fashion without any palisade and with eucalyptus trees planted around the sides. The school was at the centre and the elder's house at the upper corner. These two larger buildings and one other were built of adobe, while the rest of the twelve houses were of wattle and daub, identical with those in the other wards except that all were rectangular. There were a few very
[312] small gardens watered by an irrigation ditch. The people of this village had river gardens, and their fields were mostly to the south between the village and the highway. Just to the east of the main
• [797] village and beside one of the water-holes, a Roman Catholic catechist had established himself, but as yet he had neither village nor school.

The Villagers

602 Turning now to the people living in this village, it was interest-
621 ing to find that all save the households of two former slaves and the Roman Catholic catechist, were related to each other, either by blood or by marriage. Sekulu Cipange of Ciyanda summed the matter up when he said, 'Likuluta Samikanjo (the Protestant elder) is my younger brother (*manjange*), for in our Umbundu country (we) people do not build together (i.e. in the same village) unless we are blood relatives.' In order to determine the exact relationships and other facts regarding the demography of this village, I took the names of all householders and their wives, and inquired
[115] their relationships to the elders of the respective wards. This information was supplied by Njomba, a son of Sekulu Sikilile, and by Sekulu Likuluta Samikanjo. In addition to those of the four elders, there were twenty-four households. The relationship of each of the householders to their respective elders may be summarized as follows:

A. *Paternal relatives*

In Sikilile's village	21	
„ Ciyanda	1	
„ Kanjengo's ward	2	
„ School village	2	
	—	26

B. *Maternal relatives*

In Ciyanda	1	
„ Kanjengo's ward	1	
„ School village	4	
	—	6

L Childs M-5 (1924-1940) 1949 FF 13 Mbundu FF 13

000 on which the social cohesion of African peoples rests'.[1] In the article here quoted, and more recently at the New Education Fellowship Conference, she summarizes her conclusions regarding 'Positive Values in the African Social Organization', with special reference to the Sotho-Tswana and Zulu-Xhosa groups of the South African Bantu.[2]

Nor have American educational authorities failed to recognize the crucial importance to educational and missionary efforts of a primitive people's social structure. Were it necessary, numerous quotations might be given. Two of the four 'Essentials of Primitive Society' listed by Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones, have to do with the social structure:

II. Power of integration with the environment, material and human:

III. A proper regard for the Home and the household.[3]

Even more explicit are the counsels to be found in *The Educational Yearbook* for 1931 and 1933:

> . . . we often find that the organization of the family and the relationships between its members are as good as, and in some cases superior to, those which are found among western peoples. . . .
>
> When it comes to other matters of social relationships, such as the communal system and the practice of sharing . . . it is little less than disastrous that the western educator, brought up in a system of individualism, seems to wish to make it necessary for the indigenous peoples to go back to a social organization from which his own world is attempting to move.[4]
>
> Social forms have got to change. But whatever changes may take place, . . . the vital thing is that the sense of mutual obligation and responsibility which is found in existing relations should be conserved and express itself in the new conditions.[5]

797 177 The village is the key to an educational or mission approach to the Ovimbundu. This fact has long been recognized by the missions. The Deputation of the American Board of Com-

[1] M. Stauffer, ed., *Thinking with Africa* (New York, 1927), p. 86 (article by Mrs. Hoernlé), also quoted by C. T. Loram in *The Educational Yearbook, 1933* (Dr. Kandel, ed.), p. 280.

[2] See E. G. Malherbe, ed., *Educational Adaptations in a Changing Society* (N.E.F. Conference Report, Cape Town, 1937), pp. 405–7.

[3] T. J. Jones, *Essentials of Civilization* (New York, 1929), pp. 7 ff.

[4] C. T. Loram in *The Educational Yearbook, 1931*, I. Kandel, ed. (New York, 1931), pp. 10, 12.

[5] J. W. C. Dougall in op. cit., 1933, p. 159.

1: Childs M-5 (1924-1940) 1949 FP13 Mbundu FP13

177
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missioners for Foreign Missions which visited the Umbundu area in 1911 found some difficult problems from the great numbers of converts who had flocked to live on the mission stations. That, however, was a situation from which the missionaries had already been trying to recede for some time since 1897[1] when outstations were first undertaken by Abrão Ngulu and José Katito who went back to their own kin; and even more definitely since 1905 when Elende Station was opened with the idea that the only natives to reside there would be a small number of teachers and other leaders and boarding-school pupils who would afterwards return to their own families to form new centres of work.[2] That the village is a kinship unit has also been recognized and the description of the village of Ngendo showed that outstation work is being carried on *within* the kinship pattern of the village, and without doing violence to the Umbundu concept of social structure. The church elder and his villagers are accepted by the other villagers as kinsmen.[3] While it is evident that the way of life of the people of the school village differed from that of the elder's village, and the extent to which they mutually fulfilled kinship obligations toward each other may be questioned, nevertheless, the very fact that they mutually recognized ties of kinship and that they live side by side in harmony is of significance. It is also significant that the outstation leadership had come from within the kinship group. Likuluta Samikanjo, the elder, had attended boarding-school on a mission station, but only for a short time, and he did not pretend to be a teacher. In the beginning of the work an elder and also a teacher had been sent out from Elende Mission Station, but they had stayed only until the local people were able to carry on. The teacher at the time of my visits was Vitorino Mbambi. He belonged to the household of Likuluta's sister's son. The situation of the outstation of Ngendo is not unusual and could be duplicated many times by examples taken from various parts of the Umbundu country. It has been quite the thing for those individual Christians among the Ovimbundu who have become church elders to seek to establish villages or 'wards' of their own among their own kinsmen. Some teachers have also followed a similar bent, but if they were too young to receive the respect due to an elder of the Ovi-

[1] *Missionary Herald*, 1898, p. 108.
[2] A.B.C.F.M., *Report of the Deputation to the W.C.A. Mission*, 1911, p. 66.
[3] See *supra*, p. 29 f.

1: Child M-5 (1924-1940) 1949 FP 13 Mbundu FP 13

mbundu, they have not, independent of some related elder, generally been very successful within the kinship group.

There is another factor in the situation of the Ngendo out-station which has tended to preserve the ties of kinship between the villagers of the two groups. The support of the two leaders is very largely found locally. Neither teacher nor elder has ever received more than a very occasional bonus from either the native church or the mission. They carry on by the help of the local people and through their own efforts. Dr. Gutmann holds that it is the schools which are most disruptive in their influence on African social structure because of their organization and the way in which they are carried on. A school, he says, should reflect the organic connexions of native society and enter into reciprocal relations with the folk group. Instead, he points out, this is being made impossible in East Africa by raising the salaries of the teachers until they are removed from the ordinary life of the rest of the people.[1] This cleavage between educated individuals who should be leaders and the masses of the people seems to have reached an even more markedly advanced stage in South Africa, according to Mrs. Hoernlé, Eiselen, and others who also seek remedies in strengthening or renewing the natural social bonds.[2] What I wish to emphasize is that the more important point is not how much salary a teacher or an elder may receive, but whether his appointment and the remuneration he receives tend to weaken the organic bonds of native society and to make difficult his relations with the folk group. Do the conditions of his position *ipso facto* place him or keep him outside the local group?

In seeking to lay among the Ovimbundu sure foundations for a truly indigenous Church, the importance of ties of kinship have probably been recognized by more than one missionary. The importance of stimulating local self-support both for its influence on building up the Church and on the development of indigenous leadership has long been stressed in mission circles, although it must be recognized that the principle has often been honoured rather in the breach than in the observance. While recognizing the value of these principles as long-term objectives, impatient of meagre immediate and visible 'results' or failing to realize how

[1] Gutmann, *Africa*, 1928, p. 443 f.

[2] e.g., see Eiselen in Schapera (ed.), *Western Civilization and the Natives of South Africa* (London, 1934), p. 81.

1: Childs M-5 (1924-1940) 1949 FP13 Mbundu FP13

Wood-working, including the following specializations:
Doors, windows, and their frames; coffins.
Beds, tables, chairs, &c.
Mortars, pestles, grinding-handles, and handles for various iron implements.
Stools, household utensils, carved images, staves, knobkerries, &c.
Drums and other musical instruments.
Canoes (dug-outs and coracles).
Rope-making, nets, and rudimentary weaving.
Thatching has its specialists although all men can thatch.
Fishing.
Bee-hunting, including the making of hives.
Hunting.
Iron-smelting and smithing.
Medical-practice and Divination.

The last three professions of the list are sacred and are entered under special conditions. They are often passed on by inheritance, but not always. All of them require sacrifice at certain stages, and when the enslavement of a spirit (*oku andeka*) is required, it is socially allowable. This seems to be the case with these offices as with those of the king and his ministers, both because of benefits accruing to the community in their exercise and also because of inherent danger to the individuals who exercise these functions.

The advent of European commerce, industry, and government has created a number of types of employment for boys and young men, some of which entail prolonged absence from the village and a loosening or severing of kinship ties. Church and mission have also offered employment and have opened new opportunities for advance in place and in position.

Later childhood, then, is the period of technical training during which it is expected that a large amount of economic responsibility will be assumed. A child begins to own property even before this, and from the beginning of later childhood will be accounted legally responsible for his actions. It is recognized, however, that he should not be set tasks beyond the experience or ability of his age and that the full responsibility of adulthood will only come with marriage.

Umālēhē ka tonyōlā onguku yuvala;
A youth does not scrape the pig for the wedding feast;
pekonjo pa siala (*ovonya*).
on the hoof there remain (bristles).

1: Childs M-Ɛ (1924-1940) 1949 FP 13 Mbundu FP 13

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Photo. D. G. Ridout

a. Baptismal service by the Rev. J. H. Cilūlū

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585

b. Umbundu wedding, new-style Ekuta church in the background

[Facing p. 154]

1: Childs M-5 (1924-1940) 1949 FP13 Mbundu FP13

175× 177 439 *European Influences 1600–1770.* The first European contact of the Ovimbundu or of the 'proto-Ovimbundu' was without doubt for purposes of trade. The first record which we have of any such contact is in *Andrew Battell in Guinea.* About 1600 the governor, as the chief trader,[1] sent his prisoner Battell on trading expeditions along the Benguela coast. At the Bahia das Vaccas, the Ndombe, a cattle-keeping people, were met. They supplied the Europeans with produce,[2] including cattle and 'the famous sheep which have five quarters',[3] but *not* with the principal article of commerce, for as another of the conquistadores noted, 'In this kingdom there is [567] no slave trade, for it is not their custom to sell each other.'[4] This lack was soon supplied by 'proto-Ovimbundu' when, on the next voyage, Battell with the 'Portugals and Mulattos' found the encampment of 'Jagas' at the mouth of the Keve River, from Battell's account of which we have already quoted.[5] Although hardly recognized as such at the time, this, it seems, was the beginning of a long commercial partnership. As long as the 'Jagas' continued 'to take the spoil of the land', they supplied many slaves[6] for the trade, and after they settled they became traders both in direct European employ and on their own account.

439 567 ● 797 175× The early European settlements in Africa were made with the hope of finding gold, but although that metal was not found in the Congo or Angola, black gold—human gold—soon proved to be equally profitable. There was a religious motive in the Portuguese discoveries, for from the time of Prince Henry the Navigator, his captains were bidden to 'plant the Cross on some new headland'. With every ship priests went out to convert the heathen. Some priests doubtless did good work but more of them, both individually and as members of the various orders, early came to the conclusion that the best way to convert the heathen was to sell

[1] The governors continued to engage in trade openly, until forbidden by the law of 17 Sept. 1721, and then, says Lopes de Lima, some complied, while others did not (*Ensaios*, part i, p. 84).

[2] A. Battell, p. 16.

[3] L. Cordeiro (ed.), 1574–1620, *Da Mina ao Cabo Negro segundo Garcia Mendes Castello Branco*, p. 34. The reference is to the fat-tailed sheep of the Hottentots and their neighbours. This is perhaps the first reference to it on the west coast.

[4] Ibid., 1593–1631, *Terras e minas africanas segundo Balthazar Rebello de Aragão*, p. 15.

[5] *Supra*, p. 182 f.

[6] Battell, pp. 20, 28; L. Cordeiro (ed.), 1574–1620, *Da Mina ao Cabo Negro segundo Garcia Mendes Castello Branco*, p. 17.

1: Childs M-5 (1924-1940) 1949 FP 13 Mbundu FP 13

him off where he would have the double benefit of regular work and Christian doctrine. In 1560 the Bishop of São Thomé wrote that 'he doubted that the people of the kingdom of Angola could be made Catholics unless the King would allow Trade'.[1] The slaves were baptized by the bishop by the boatload—rowed along the wharf of Luanda. The Jesuits profited greatly by the slave-trade, employing continuously three of their own ships. The religious motive was thus early swallowed up by the commercial and profit motive. Commerce was almost entirely taken up with the slave-trade. Four-fifths of the value of all exports were slaves.[2]

During the first hundred years of the Colony of Angola a million slaves were exported,[3] and three million would probably be a very conservative estimate of the total. As long as the oversea slave traffic remained legal, little effort seems to have been made to develop other exports. In spite of protests and until 1832, ivory remained a monopoly of the royal treasury with regulations which discouraged its export. Such products as gum copal and orchilia only began to be exported in 1832–8. The only product of any importance which had also been exported in the time of the slave-trade was bees-wax. The slave-trade was first questioned in 1831, it was formally prohibited in 1836, but for many years enforcement was not accomplished. During the 250 years of the oversea slave-trade, Angola was in reality a dependency of Brazil.[4] When Brazil became independent, there was a movement in Benguela for union with that country.[5] So complete was the commercial domination of Brazil that Lisbon merchants had hardly anything to do with the Angolan trade. Lopes de Lima points out that the colony was also spiritually dominated by Brazil, and attributes the noteworthy religious decadence not only to the preoccupation of the clergy with the slave-trade, but also to the fact that from 1677 until 1845 the diocese of Angola and Congo was a part of the Metropolitan archdiocese of Bahia. The one great fact with regard to Angola of the sixteenth, seventeenth,

[1] It had been a royal monopoly and allowed only through Kongo. This letter is from the National Archives of the Torre do Tombo and quoted by Lopes de Lima, *Ensaios*, p. ix.

[2] Statistics given by Lopes de Lima, *Ensaios*, part i, p. 69 f.

[3] Cadornega, *História Geral das Guerras Angolanas* (1680–1), vol. iii, p. 254 (also quoted by Paiva Manso).

[4] Lopes de Lima, *Ensaios*, part i, p. 74; J. P. Oliveira Martins, *O Brasil e as Colónias Portuguezas*, p. 18.

[5] Lopes de Lima, op. cit., p. 127.

1: Childs M-5 (1924-1940) 1949 FP13 Mbundu FP13

The field of Umbundu reactions to cultural influences is a wide and an important one. Whatever contact the Ovimbundu or their progenitors may have had with the early Roman Catholic missions, little impress seems to have been made. The cross has been adopted as an object used in divination. Certain rites *seem* superficially to resemble the procession with the Host, but there is no indication of the assimilation of any ethical or conceptual element from Christianity during the early or formative period.[1]

Christianity first came to the Ovimbundu with the arrival of three missionaries at Bailundu in March 1881.[2] This was during the reign of Ekuikui and proved to be not the least important event of that reign. It is not within the scope of this study to give a history of the work of this Mission.[3] Its inception was planned as carefully as the times permitted, and although its subsequent development did not always proceed according to plan, its progress on the whole has been of an orderly nature, and it has produced noteworthy results which have been evaluated by deputations, by commissions, and by other visitors from time to time.[4]

The amount of interdenominational co-operation achieved in this field is worthy of note. There are the missions of the

[1] There were missions of the Jesuits, Capuchins, Carmelites, &c., in Angola from 1575 until about 1800, and there were priests as chaplains of the various presidios visited by the Ovimbundu during most of their history. Major Artur de Paiva, writing in 1890 (see *Boletim Soc. Geog. Lisboa*, 1895, p. 15 f.), describes the ruins of a Roman Catholic mission which he found in Cingolo (*Quingolo*) and which he judged to have dated from the end of the eighteenth century. I have found no reference in any historical work to the founding or operation of such a mission. It may have been built about 1770 when Governor Souza Coutinho ordained a number of towns in the Benguela hinterland, but the absence of specific reference to it seems to indicate that its existence was short.

[2] Messrs. Bagster, Sanders, and Miller sent out by the A.B.C.F.M. (Boston) to inaugurate a mission in Bihe, for that region was well known from the reputation of its traders, while Bailundu and other Umbundu regions had scarcely been heard of.

[3] For a brief summary of the early years see Strong, *The Story of the American Board*, pp. 336 ff.; also two articles in vol. 126 (1930) of the *Missionary Herald*, pp. 424–9; J. T. Tucker, *Drums in the Darkness*, gives a historical treatment of the work of this mission.

[4] There have been two 'deputations' sent to the West Central Africa Mission, in 1911 and in 1930, reports of which were issued by the A.B.C.F.M. Secretaries have visited the mission in 1924, '28, '30, '34, '38, and '46, and have given their impressions either in the *Missionary Herald* or in the *United Church Record and Missionary Review*. The report of the African Education Commission dealt with the work of this mission (T. J. Jones, *Education in Africa*, pp. 40, 239 f., 245 ff.). Among visitors who have written of this work see Nevinson, op. cit., chap. 7; J. Johnston, op. cit., chaps. 2, 3, and 4.

1: Childs M-5 (1924-1940) 1949 FP 13 Mbundu FP 13

A.B.C.F.M. (Congregational) and of the United Church of Canada, which for practical purposes work as one mission. This mission co-operates with several smaller organizations and with the Angola Evangelical Alliance. This prevailing spirit of co-operation has been noticed by travellers.[1] Another characteristic has been 'regard for plan, order, and "cultivation of the field" ', according to the African Education Commission.[2] Of yet greater significance has been the extent to which this mission has been able to seize upon and develop indigenous initiative. This showed in the early organization of the Church, which was encouraged to develop its own life from the start. The utilization of indigenous forms, especially of social organization, has been a source of real strength.

Further development in this direction is greatly to be desired. For such further development, and indeed for all orderly growth, more knowledge of Umbundu life and attitudes, and an orderly synthesis of knowledge already in hand is a *sine qua non*. It is hoped that the present writer's study may help to supply the lacunae. A recent Roman Catholic handbook for missionaries in Africa has urged that for each ethnic and linguistic region a mission should have specialists in each field of research.[3] Although this advice may be considered 'for the present a counsel of perfection', it is the direction toward which missions are working,[4] an ideal which they must realize in the not too distant future. If Protestant missions in Africa are to maintain the place of leadership which, because of their evangelistic zeal they have had, they cannot neglect this zeal for knowledge which is demanded to-day.

The Roman Catholic Diocese of Huambo (*Pères du Saint-Esprit*), which embraces most of the Umbundu territory, seems to have had no specialists of the type named above who have devoted themselves to a study of the Ovimbundu. Père Ernest Lecomte

[1] Compare Nevinson, op. cit., p. 140, 'there are two . . . notable orders at work in Angola—the American mission (Congregationalist) under the "American Board", and the English mission (Plymouth Brethren) under divine direction only. . . . Of all the sects that I have known, these are the only two that I have ever heard pray for each other, and that without condemnation.'

[2] Dr. T. J. Jones, op. cit., p. 40. Recommendations for further developments according to carefully considered plans were made by Dr. F. K. Sanders in his *Report of Deputation*, 1930 (A.B.C.F.M.).

[3] H. Dubois, *Le Répertoire Africain* (Rome, 1932), pp. 157 ff.

[4] See article by J. H. Oldham, 'The Educational Work of Missionary Societies', in *Africa*, Jan. 1934, p. 47 f.

1: Childs M-5 (1924-1940) 1949 FP13 Mbundu FP13

797 795 produced an Umbundu grammar,[1] but does not seem to have published material of an ethnological nature. Père Keiling (who died in 1937) and Père Batteix were both listed in *Le Répertoire Africain* as specializing in the 'Ganguella' language.[2] The Umbundu missions of this Diocese date from 1890 (Caconda), 1896 (Bailundo), 1912 (Cuando), and later. From early days this mission has had quite evident political aspects—from 1889 when a military expedition was sent against the 'Ganguella Soba[3] Tchiuaco' to re-establish Père Lecomte and the Cubango mission station which had been attacked and expelled,[4] up to the recent government charters and mission statutes, which heavily subsidize the religious work of the Roman Catholic missions in Angola. The constitution of the Portuguese Republic decrees the separation of Church and State and full religious liberty. The large subsidies and other special privileges given to the Roman Catholic Church in Angola, however, create difficulties beyond the mere allocation of tax-money. In other parts of Africa the Roman Catholic missions co-operate with the Protestant in many spheres of action. It is to be regretted that such co-operation seems not to be desired in Angola. Is it a sort of monopolistic political aim which keeps the Roman Catholic missionaries of Angola aloof? The rare instances in which a more friendly spirit has been manifested only add point to the question. The appreciative and co-operative spirit shown by Padre J. Alves Correia[5] may be cited.

797 178 754 Roman Catholics and Protestants have both been very successful from a numerical standpoint.[6] Success in building a truly indigenous Church, or in providing it with suitable and capable leadership from its own ranks, is another question hardly to be judged from statistics. More elusive still is the question whether,

[1] *Boletim Soc. Geog. Lisboa*, 1897. This grammar has gone through several editions and is still in use. The orthography is evidently intended to facilitate the use of the language by one whose native tongue is French and rather complicates matters for an African, and, indeed, for anyone whose language is other than French.

[2] H. Dubois, op. cit., p. 340.

[3] *Soba*, a native chief (from *Soma*).

[4] *Benguella*, op. cit., 1891, pp. 10 ff.

[5] See his books, *A Larguesa do Reino de Deus* (Lisboa, 1932); *A Vida Mais Alta*, &c.

[6] Roman Catholics have about 280,000 and Protestants about 140,000 adherents among the Ovimbundu, according to the census taken in 1940 (Colónia de Angola, *Censo Geral da População*, vol. ix; Luanda, Imprensa Nacional, 1943).

1: Childs M-5 (1924-1940) 1949 FP 13 Mbundu FP 13

or how far, Umbundu life may have been actually penetrated by a Christian spirit in matters of faith and morals. It is not surprising that after less than seventy years, or very much less in most regions, belief in witchcraft should still have a strong hold upon the minds of the Ovimbundu. Somewhat disturbing, however, is the fact that according to the latest observations, belief in and the hold of witchcraft seem at the present time to be increasing. These observations tally with what seems to be taking place in other parts of Africa.[1] According to observers in Africa and in other parts of the world the hold of witchcraft upon a people seems to increase with a decrease of security, whether relating to the economic basis of life, to health and disease, or to life's religious undergirding. In such a case, it is clearly the duty of all agencies concerned to co-operate for the removal of the cause of insecurity. Here the chief agencies are government, commerce, and missions. It is to be hoped that for the good of the Ovimbundu they may be brought together.

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[1] See *Africa*, vol. viii, no. 4, which number is devoted to studies of witchcraft. See especially the article, 'A Modern Movement of Witch Finders', by A. I. Richards, pp. 418 ff.

3: Hambly E-5 (1929-1930) 1934 FP13 Mbundu FP13

plate of meal and earnestly asked questions. Lukuma was the name of the father of the dead boy. The old man who addressed the corpse was the brother of Lukuma's mother. Ngonga explained that the woman addresses the corpse, "to give him sense so that he will not be ashamed to tell all about it"; that is, about the manner of his death. The old man said to the corpse, "*Etali* ["today"] *omolange* ["my boy"] *tu yongola* ["we want"] *oku* ["you"] *tu* ["us"] *sanjuisa* ["make glad"] *o tu* ["to us"] *sapuila* ["tell"] *muele* ["indeed"] *cosi* ["all"] *ca* ["that"] *ku upa* ["you take"] *kilu lieve* ["from earth"].

The pause which followed a question was intended to give the corpse time to reply. It is supposed that if the answer is in the negative the spirit causes the pole to swing slightly backward. An affirmative answer is given if the spirit makes the pole swing forward. The old man demanded, "Is it witchcraft that hates us and killed you? If it is witchcraft, come to the front." I could see no swing of the corpse on the pole, but Ngonga said that he could see the coffin swing backward to indicate a negative answer. I suspected that the interrogator of the corpse gave a signal to the bearers, indicating that the coffin was to be made to swing, but I could see no signal or movement of the coffin. While the corpse was interrogated, males among the spectators spoke to the old man who was asking the questions. Ngonga explained that these men were suggesting questions which might be asked respecting the cause of death. A witness in the crowd would say, "You have forgotten this," or "You have forgotten that."

The next question was one that calls for a detailed explanation. *Sambulu* is a bad spirit which is able to cause death when crying women and children offend him by their wailing. The mother of the dead boy was a slave whose husband was absent from the village for a time. During this period the master of the woman threatened to sell her; consequently she went to a Christian mission with her children, one of whom was the boy now deceased. The woman and children were crying, hence the possibility that the evil *Sambulu* had at that time entered the person of the boy whose funeral rites were now in progress. The woman had visited the mission a year ago, but this lapse of time apparently made no difference to the possibility that *Sambulu* had entered one of the children. The spirit made a negative answer to this ingenious suggestion and eventually indicated that death was due to a "bad belly." If no answer is returned affirmatively, recourse is made to the medicine-man, who carries out divination. The details of this method are described

6:Edwards E-5 (1955-1956)1962
FP13 Mbundu FP13

and the European population greatly increased.[29] In some areas at this time a confused situation arose, in which 'robber barons', white and black, tyrannized over chiefs and villagers and engaged in the still vigorous slave trade, which now had acquired a few disguises on the coast.[29]

In 1911 the rubber trade ended, and about the same time slavery and the slave trade were effectively suppressed.[30] From this time onwards, too, civil administration began to be effective and the Benguela Railway became the most important link between the coast and the interior.[31] The trade disappeared, powers of the chiefs declined. The missions, both Catholic and Protestant, which had relatively little influence during the rubber trade period, gained more and more converts.[32]

2. *Ethnography*

Between the Ovimbundu and the sea lie the Hanya, the Nganda, and the Tjisanji tribes of whom little is known except that the Hanya and Nganda seem to be culturally related to the Ovimbundu.[33] To the south are the Nyaneka-Humbi group, cattle-keeping peoples who are culturally and linguistically related to the Ovimbundu, but who did not participate in the trade.[34] To the east lie the Ngangela[35], the Luimbi, and the

[29] Childs, pp. 210–11.

[30] For an account of Umbundu country at this time see H. W. Nevison, *A Modern Slavery*, New York, 1906. In Gumba I was told that Mutu-ya-Kevela the leader of the 1902–3 revolt had raided villages for slaves but that Samakaka whom Childs (p. 22) describes as a robber baron was spoken of favourably.

[31] Slavery had been legally suppressed from 1878. The slaves were called by other names but no effective change was made till 1910. See A. Bastos, *Monografia de Catumbella* in *Bol. Soc. Geog. Lisboa*, 1910 (pp. 74–81, 105–9, 141–55, 180–5, 223–8, 251–5, 279–5).

[32] Childs, p. 228.

[33] Ibid., pp. 220–23. Personal information.

[34] Ibid., p. 8.

[35] On these peoples see Estermann, *Etnografia do Sudoeste de Angola*, Vol. II.

[35] A tribe using this word as the root of the tribal name is to be found to the south-east of Umbundu country in the area round Vila Artur de Paiva. Padre A. Van Horrik, formerly of the Missão Católica de Cubango, tells me that the map contained in M. McCulloch, *The Southern Lunda and Related Peoples*, (London, 1951) should show the Ngangela as occupying much of the area actually assigned to the Mbwela and the south-eastern Ovimbundu. Mbwela does not seem to be the name any tribe uses for itself (Private information, Estermann and Van Horrik).

6:Edwards E-5 (1955-1956)1962
FP13 Mbundu FP13
Angola FP1

which I leave in Portuguese since there is no convenient English equivalent) ruled by an *administrador*, and the *concelho* in turn divides into *postos* (posts) each in the charge of a *chefe de posto*. There is no specific limit either of population or of geographical extension for these units, and in actual fact very great disparities exist, despite the frequent revision of boundaries.[9]

Ovimdundu are found within four of the Catholic dioceses of Angola, though the diocese of Nova Lisboa is largely Umbundu as regards its African population. The Catholic missions to the Ovimbundu have been largely in the hands of the Congregação do Espirito Santo, and it is in this part of Angola that their work has been most intensive.[9] An effort has been made to build up a local clergy, and by 1956 there were some thirty-two priests of Umbundu origin. There is an official distinction between the Missions, which work among the 'native' population, and the Parishes, which are responsible for the 'civilised' population, that is all Portuguese citizens, whether white, of mixed race, or African; however, in practice natives come to parish churches, and 'civilized' persons come to Mission Churches.

Most of the Protestant missionary work[10] among the Ovimbundu has been achieved by a joint effort of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (Congregationalists) and the United Church of Canada, though the Swiss Mission and the Plymouth Brethren should also be mentioned. The headquarters of the American–Canadian mission at Dondi includes a seminary for pastors, a boys' secondary school, a girls' boarding-school, the printing press, a hospital, and a leper settlement.

The American–Canadian mission has for various reasons been confined to the Ovimbundu though catechists from its stations have settled among neighbouring peoples; hence the Native Church it has founded is the only all-Umbundu social grouping that exists. Ovimbundu Protestants do, however,

[9] Galvão and Selvagem, pp. 235–40.

[9] For the origins of the Catholic missions among the Ovimbundu see Luis Keiling *Quarenta Anos de Africa*, Braga 1934.

[10] For the history of the Protestant missions see J. R. Tucker, *Drums in the Darkness*, Toronto and New York 1927, and *Curtis of Chisamba*, Toronto 1945. Childs, pp. 290–1.

6:Edwards E-5 (1955-1956)1962
FP13 Mbundu FP13
Angola FP1

meet other Angolan Protestants through such occasions as the Congress of Evangelical Youth, held at Malange in 1955.

While the Catholic missions are not tied to the Ovimbundu in the same way as the Protestants the number of their adherents falls sharply when the Umbundu boundary is reached. Responsiveness to missionary activity is a mark of the Ovimbundu today just as was participation in the caravan trade. Indeed, the main common possession of the Ovimbundu, the Umbundu language, is, as a literary vehicle and object of study, almost a missionary monopoly. Both missions produce a monthly magazine in Umbundu and Portuguese, and several books of a religious or educational nature have been published with Umbundu on one side and Portuguese on the other as legally required. The dictionaries and grammars are almost all of missionary authorship.

Acceptance of Christianity has also significance for Umbundu self-consciousness. The majority of Ovimbundu have come under missionary influence in varying degrees, and conversion to Christianity makes Ovimbundu feel closer to Europeans and superior to other African peoples. I have heard African priests claim that the Ovimbundu are the best people in Angola, largely on this ground, and at Lobito and Luanda tensions have been felt in the Protestant community between Ovimbundu and members of other tribes.[11]

The Ovimbundu live under economic, political, and religious systems introduced and controlled by Europeans. Yet trader, official, and missionary are all dependent on the Ovimbundu. The 'civilized' and the native live in symbiosis, and the two basic problems of this study are the nature of this symbiosis, and its relation to the social system of the native population themselves. To see this symbiosis in perspective it is necessary to describe what occupations and statuses Africans can hold.

The strict segregation of black and white found in South Africa is alien to Portuguese traditions. There is a lack of almost all forms of public segregation between white and non-white.[12]

[11] Personal information.

[12] In the racial discrimination that does exist the mulattoes generally count as whites. It is said to be difficult for a full African to obtain accommodation in a Luanda hotel, but the situation for mulattoes is quite different.

6:Edwards E-5 (1955-1956)1962
FP13 Mbundu FP13
Angola FP1

THE CONTEMPORARY SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT

While there are both African and white truck-drivers, this tends to be a speciality of the mulattoes. Business and professional men are usually white, though there are occasional Cape Verdians and Goan professional men, and in old-established cities like Luanda and Benguela there are mulattoes of high social status. There are no African *chefes de posto* in the Highland, though I have heard of an African holding an important position in the Treasury at Luanda.[17] The most significant section of those Ovimbundu who have received education are the Catholic priests, and the Protestant pastors because of their number, their social role, and their existence as groups.

There are, as I have said, some 32 African priests, and from 60 to 70 or so pastors. In the Catholic Church the most significant distinction is that between priest and layman, as can be seen by the courteous, even respectful manner Europeans adopt towards African priests; among the Protestants the significant distinction is rather that between the American and Canadian missionaries and the Ovimbundu members of the native church including the pastors.

While the white priests are members of a religious order and the African priests are not, both have similar duties and share a common life. The white and African priests eat together, pass their period of recreation together, and may alternate such duties as saying Mass, and hearing confessions. Both European and African clergy rely for their keep on the superior of the Mission. Three African priests have become superiors of missions.[18]

With the Protestants there is a division of functions, the missionaries providing supervisory and specialized services, such as agricultural advice, education, and medical work, and the Native Church being responsible for village work. Financially, this division involves missionary salaries being paid by the mission boards, and those of the pastors and the village school teachers by the Ovimbundu Protestants. Socially there is less contact between missionaries and pastors than between black and white priests. Many pastors live away from the missions at pastorate centres. The missionaries eat and pass their spare time with their families, and among themselves talk English,

[17] Private information.
[18] Personal observations.

6:Edwards E-5 (1955-1956)1962
FP13 Mbundu FP13
Angola FP1

switching to Umbundu or Portuguese for addressing an African, whereas Portuguese is the language used at the Catholic missions even between non-Portuguese.

The African Catholic priests then have approximate equality and identity of status with their white confreres within the hierarchic framework of the diocese of Nova Lisboa; the Ovimbundu pastors lack this equality and identity but instead possess greater independence and opportunities for leadership within the Umbundu Native Church, which functions as a partly autonomous body.[19] The difference in functions of the priests and pastors is related to the ultimate aims of missionary action; for the Catholic missions the establishment of a local clergy is part of the complete incorporation of Ovimbundu into the universal Church; for the Protestants the establishment of a local clergy is part of the building up of a totally independent local church.

I attempt later in this work to show what roles the missions play in social life among the Ovimbundu and in the relations between the 'civilized' and native population. Here it should be noted that it is the missions rather than commerce or the Government which have opened status-giving positions to the Ovimbundu. The clergy have higher statuses in the total Angolan society than do any other of the *assimilados*. They combine this high status *vis-à-vis* the Europeans with leadership in groupings which include the ordinary villagers, unlike the various welfare societies in which the *assimilados* associate.

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So much then for the general pattern of cities, communications, and trains, of administration, missionaries, and traders. I now turn to the particular features of the neighbourhood where I lived. Bimbe is said to derive from the name of a princess (Mbimbi) who ruled as a vassal of the king of Bailundo.[20] Here at the beginning of this century Samakaka, a

[19] The missions provide supervision and specialist services including agricultural instruction, community development, education, and health. Village work and actual pastoral activity is the responsibility of the Native Church. For an account of such specialist services see M. F. Cushmann, *Missionary Doctor in Africa*, New York, 1944 and A. Strangeways in *African Women* (June 1956).

[20] Information obtained locally from 'civilised' people. Princesses were very rare among the Ovimbundu, though Childs notes that Sambos (Sambu) had a woman ruler early in its history (p. 178).

6:Edwards E-5 (1955-1956)1962
FP13 Mbundu FP13

mines are widely known to people. Although Ovimbundu Protestants are often referred to as 'America' a word used both as an adjective and a plural noun, they (that is, of course villagers, not educated men such as the pastors or teachers) have no clear idea of the existence of, still less any identification with, the United States.

Like the other parts of Umbundu country Bimbe has experienced much missionary activity. The Catholic Mission of Bimbe has had a great deal of influence, the catechists teaching catechism and leading daily prayers in the villages, which the priests visit once or twice a year, and at such feasts as Christmas and Easter great crowds attend the Church services.

The Protestants depend on the pastoral centres of Henge and Luvemba, which are regularly visited by a missionary from Bailundo. Both here and throughout the Highland Catholics are more numerous than Protestants, but in some sub-chiefdoms Protestants are in the majority, notably in Kapali and round Henge. I have already mentioned the differences between Catholic and Protestant missionary organization. At the local level a number of differences can be noticed, in such matters as the neater, more planned appearance of the Protestant villages which have far more rudimentary[28] (pre-primary) schools than the Catholics. These schools are entirely financed by the Protestant villagers; among the Catholics while there is a desire for more schooling there is a lack of the drive that the Protestants show. A *chefe de posto* said that Protestants spoke Portuguese better than Catholics; and the Protestants are more 'Europeanizing' in their outlook.

The *chefes de posto* visit each sub-chiefdom only once a year. As the relations between the *chefes* and the people are usually concerned with the gathering of fines and taxes, the recruitment of labour, and the arrest and punishment of offenders, it is not surprising that the people regard the *chefe* with fear and mistrust. Yet there is a genuine acceptance of Portuguese rule. Thus villagers sing the Portuguese National Anthem at parties, the Portuguese flag is a meaningful symbol, and there is a belief

[28] Rudimentary education is a course intended for natives at a pre-primary level. It includes teaching of Portuguese, and also some instruction in agriculture and hygiene.

6:Edwards E-5 (1955-1956)1962
FP13 Mbundu FP13

565 Their higher social status limits their contacts with the villagers without giving them positions of direct control. Hence they are not leaders in the native social system. They are significant for 565 the culture of village Ovimbundu since they are one of the 177 channels for the communication of European culture traits, and their very existence indicates the possibility of becoming 'equal with the white man"[21]

797 More significant than the *assimilados* as a means of linking the 177 Ovimbundu with the whites, of the transmitting of cultural values, and of the creation of new statuses and groupings at village level, are the missions.

128 In the following chapters, the composition and degree of solidarity of the sub-chiefdom, and village, the network of kinship ties, the choice of marriage partners, and the means of social control will be discussed in their operation among the Ovimbundu who are inescapably tied to Portuguese rule, to world markets, and to the spiritual authority of the missions.

[21] I have the impression that in the cities there is some feeling that the status of *assimilado* does not give real equality but simply exemption from such burdens as road work.

6:Edwards E-5 (1955-1956)1962
FP13 Mbundu FP13

634 with primary and possibly some secondary education, the 640 clerks who have primary schooling, and the policemen, who are often illiterate. The police are locally recruited and are provided with their keep, from the farm attached to the post, and with uniforms. They are usually—by no means always—illiterate. The interpreter, clerks, and police tend to identify themselves with the *chefe* as against the people; however, a policeman may be influenced in his relations with the villagers by gifts and friendship.

634 The size of population of sub-chiefdoms varies. The 1950 161 census gave the total 'non-civilized' population of the Bailundo *concelho* as being 246,045, and the number of sub-chiefdoms as 82,[9] that is, an average of 3,000 individuals per sub-chiefdom. The *chefe* of Bimbe told me in August 1956 that Gumba had 800 taxpayers, and Chicunda had 700. Putting the proportion of taxpayers as 1 to 6 (on the basis of Epalanga proportions) this gives 4,800 as the population figure for Gumba and 4,200 as the figure for Chicunda. Even if the proportion of 1 to 5 be taken as the proportion between taxpayers and total population this gives us 4,000 as the figure for Gumba and 3,500 as the figure for Chicunda. I do not know what the local density of population is; in the Bailundo *concelho* as a whole it is 16–17 individuals per square kilometre.[10]

634 The chief and government headmen are the main channel of 640 conveying demands and orders from the post to the villagers. They receive in return the remission of their taxes. Their 622 dependence on the post is not, however, sufficient to give them a position of marked superiority in their locality for the following reasons. They are unable to control all relations between the post and the people; anybody who has a dispute on hand may take it direct to the post. In village life their 434 influence can always be counterbalanced by that of the 622 catechists and 'elders of the school' whose contact with the [797] missions is much closer than that of the chiefs and government headmen with the post. They also lack economic resources; the exemption from taxes (which the Catholic catechists share)

[9] See Gálvao and Selvagem, pp. 384–3. For Angolan population density see Egerton, pp. 36–37.

[10] My own estimate from figures given by Galvão and Selvagem.

6:Edwards E-5 (1955-1956)1962
FP13 Mbundu FP13

178 621 for individuals to build up large villages—thus Simbwyikoka encouraged people to settle at Mwekalia to make it a large village. It may also be suggested that the power of the village headmen was to some extent linked with the power of the chief, since the headmen were associated politically with the chief, and would from this, tend to gain authority in their dealings with their fellow villagers. The village headmen also lacked any real competition from other types of leadership. Mbati had kept relations with the post in his own hands, and there were therefore no government headmen. The first catechist had [797] arrived in Mbati's village in 1928, but cannot have met with much lasting success as there are few baptized Christians over thirty-five in Gumba.

622 554 Other factors at the time strengthening the position of the village headmen were the low rate of labour migration[18] and the fact that practically every man over forty at the time of Simbwyikoka's accession had participated in the rubber trade. This meant that many of the best known caravan leaders were still in full vigour, and enjoyed a prestige based on the first-hand knowledge of the middle-aged and older men.

178 Between this period of the middle thirties and the beginning of my own fieldwork twenty years had passed and many changes had taken place. The status of the chief had sharply [634] declined and he was now assisted by the four government headmen. Every village except the chief's village had a Catholic or Protestant catechist, and there had been a marked trend [797] towards learning catechism in preparation for baptism, which had begun about 1946. Hence the catechetical school was usually attended by the majority of under twenty-five's in the village.

621 Agnatic kinship had ceased to be the principle of village membership. Nor can it be said that headmen build up villages by getting people to settle at a particular spot. It is not always easy even to find the headman, village population is not very stable, and a man can settle with any category of kin.

622 124 To discover the traditional headman required careful phrasing of questions. When I visited a village and asked for the *osekulu yimbo* (the traditional phrase for the village headman) I

[18] Ibid., p. 214.

6:Edwards E-5 (1955-1956)1962
FP13 Mbundu FP13

villagers a certain, not very marked, respect, which may be increased by such factors as kinship ties between him and them, and his personal qualities.

Nor is the village itself clearly defined as a social unit. It does not possess any corporate rights over fishing and hunting sites, or control access to firewood gathering. A man may hold land in two villages. It is rarely that a village acts or is treated as a unit. The two main occasions on which the village is thus 'represented' are at marriages and in the context of the catechetical school. The party which goes from the bridegroom's village to the bride's represents her village, to the other village; at the wedding feast food is given out on large basket plates, one for each village represented among the guests.

The role of the catechetical school as representative of the village as a whole will be discussed in another chapter; here it should be noted that the ceremonial reception of visiting missionaries by the 'school people' of the village has been evidently copied to some extent from the welcome given to the bridegroom's party, and this has in turn copied certain features from the welcoming of missionaries—notably the use of speeches in Portuguese.

The hamlets[20] and isolated households do not indicate a modernizing 'individualistic' trend away from village life, since 'conservative' and 'progressive' people are to be found in both units of residence. The Ovimbundu, whether educated or illiterate, when talking about themselves (particularly in comparison with the Kimbundu of Northern Angola) emphasize that they are a village-dwelling people, and for them the real values of village life seem to be the sociability and mutual help that a man living among his kin can enjoy. By settling in a village one indicates where the pull of kinship ties is strongest rather than any particular allegiance to the village headman.

[20] I use this term for a settlement with less than four households.

6:Edwards E-5 (1955-1956)1962
FP13 Mbundu FP13

Mwehombo, and elder of the school, a post he would certainly have lost had this come to the ears of the missionaries. Attitudes to the verdict are interesting. Sapapula assured me that Mwehombo had killed many people by sorcery both sons and sisters' sons; Luanga did not see the contradiction which I pointed out to him of his saying both that Mwehombo was good and that he had practised sorcery; Gonçalve, Mwehombo's son, appeared sceptical of the verdict, as did Aspirante, Sapapula's sister's son who was married to a daughter of Mwehombo's half-brother, Wayangu.

The verdict did not prevent Mwehombo having an impressive funeral. He was buried according to his wishes in the traditional hammock placed in the circular grave, instead of the modern coffin placed in the modern oblong grave. As a caravan-leader he was buried by the track to Chicunda at the point where the path to Epalanga branched off. A low thatched covering was erected over his grave with the horns of the beast killed at the funeral on it. In 1956 Gonçalve and Pedro Nendi, son of Mbati and therefore a cross-cousin of Mwehombo, replaced this by a concrete memorial in the form of a cross with the base inscribed in Portuguese 'Simon Mwehombo Native of Gumba Great Man died 13th January 1955.'

Thus Mwehombo had twice undergone conversion from pagan to Christian, once as he lay dying and once after death. His posthumous conviction for sorcery affected neither the form of funeral, nor the continued residence of his kin in the village. His conviction for sorcery was a reflection of the social strains in which he had been involved, not the opening of another cycle of conflict. The kinship cores are not segments opposing one another as in a lineage system; they possess no clearly defined boundaries[10] or continuing existence in time. Their existence is dependent on the persons around whom the cores have formed, and on their deaths they lack any integrating principles. Mwehombo dead, his kinsfolk mostly found no objection in continuing to live in the village where his rival now lived as undisputed traditional headman.

There is no word in Umbundu for these groupings. The

[10] For example I have included José in the Mwehombo-Mbati kinship core, on the basis of association, but he came to the village through a tie with Sapapula.

6:Edwards E-5 (1955-1956)1962
FP13 Mbundu FP13

CHAPTER VI

THE CATECHETICAL SCHOOL

797 Both the Catholic and Protestant missions have, in order to provide religious teaching and leadership at the village level, made use of catechists whose responsibility it is to prepare people for baptism and children for Communion by teaching them catechism, to lead the village people in prayers, and to maintain contact with the missions. There are a number of differences between the roles of the Catholic and the Protestant catechists. As most of the Christians in my immediate neighbourhood were Catholics, I shall deal in this chapter with the Catholic catechists, though I shall indicate some of the differences which the Protestant organization shows.

[166] In the early days large numbers of Christians settled round the missions. The first Catholic converts were slaves purchased from traders by the missionaries and settled in villages near the missions. While the Protestant missions did not do this, they were somewhat embarrassed by the large crowds of converts who settled round mission stations.[1] The missions expanded by sending out catechists who gathered converts. At one time the 797 361 practice was for the Christians to settle in a 'school village', which was in fact a hamlet partially separated from the rest of the village from which its membership was recruited. This is still found in some Gumba villages. In other villages, however, there is no geographical division between Christian and pagan, and the school may occupy a central position in the lay-out of the village. There are as yet no purely Catholic villages in Gumba. These are established by the missionaries when there is considered to be a significant number of Catholic married couples. This pattern is followed even on the outskirts of Nova Lisboa.

[1] Childs, p. 66.

6:Edwards E-5 (1955-1956)1962
FP13 Mbundu FP13

THE CATECHETICAL SCHOOL

The catechist is appointed by the mission, though there is a fairly common tendency for him to have relatives in the village where he is catechist. It is often the case that somebody who is already recognized by the mission as qualified to be a catechist, that is, has a good knowledge of the catechism, prayers and hymns, may be asked by some kinsman to come to his village to teach catechism, and his acceptance needs only to be confirmed by the mission. Even in Gumba, notable for the relative strength of its surviving paganism and the relatively slow rate of conversion, every village except the chief's capital and the hamlets had a catechetical school.

The catechist does not receive a salary from the mission. He is, however, exempt from the personal tax, and is not liable for road-work or contract labour. He may be able to persuade his flock to cultivate a field for him, and the school itself, and perhaps a house for visiting missionaries, will be built by the school people. The other representative of the school is the elder of the school, whose responsibility is to arrange for the catechist's settling down in the village, and his getting on well with the local people. This office had particular importance in the days when a catechist might be sent from the mission to a region quite different from his own. Nowadays, when so many catechists have kin in the villages where they settle, the balance of influence between catechist and elder of the school will depend on their personalities. In one village the elder of the school may be pushing and shrewd, and the catechist may be rather under his influence; in another an active, enterprising, catechist may make the elder of the school his assistant. The elder of the school is not exempt from taxes, but is not called on for labour service.

The school people may include both baptized people and catechumens. For both the word *vakwasikola* (they of the school) applies and the former may be called Christians, and these will sometimes object to non-baptized people using Christian names. The period of catechumenate is three years, but people who learn catechism quickly are given baptism in two years. There are a certain number of peripheral school people who may turn up at the school for prayers but who are not actively learning the catechism. There are other people who do not

6:Edwards E-5 (1955-1956)1962
FP13 Mbundu FP13

797 usually come to the school but say they want to be baptized. Many people who would have to be classified as pagans are people with Christian names who at one time attended catechism classes and prayers, and who may very occasionally turn up to some service, for instance the Corpus Christi procession at the Mission.

Adult and adolescent converts may only receive baptism at the mission. The children of Christian parents are baptized by priests on their visits to the villages; it is the catechists' duty to teach them catechism in preparation for their first confession and communion which should take place when they are about seven to ten years old. The missionaries frequently complain of the inadequacies of the catechists as teachers of doctrine. Few of the old pupils of the elementary school at the Bimbe mission become catechists, as there is no pay attached to it. Some, certainly, of the catechists are devoted and intelligent men, and a few have a real gift for speaking in public.

Some catechists attempt to teach their pupils the three Rs; and a catechist ready to teach reading, writing and counting will find a number of boys eager to learn. There are about half a dozen 'rudimentary', that is pre-primary, schools dependent on the Bimbe mission, none of which is in Gumba or Chicunda, and a primary school at the mission itself. Learning to read and write is not confined to Christians; some pagans in [212] Epalanga could write their names, and I was told that among contract labourers on plantations those who were literate would teach those who were not in the dormitories at night.

Apart from religious instruction, the catechists have the duty of leading the people in morning and evening prayers at the school. These prayers are in Umbundu with occasionally a hymn in Portuguese. On Sunday mornings there is a longer set of prayers and hymns, some in Latin taken from the Mass, held about ten o'clock. Only a few people turn up for morning prayers, considerably more to evening prayers, and nearly everybody who can be considered a 'school person' comes to the Sunday gathering.

The evening gatherings for prayers may be used as opportunities for announcing news—e.g. the approaching visit of a missionary. More usually they are followed and sometimes

6:Edwards E-5 (1955-1956)1962
FP13 Mbundu FP13

preceded by singing, and dancing. There are a certain number of 'school' songs as distinct from hymns, which are semi- or non-religious in nature, which are taught by the catechist and are sung on these occasions with other Umbundu traditional songs. There seems to be little composition of songs by present day Ovimbundu nor do they know popular Portuguese songs.

The school itself, the centre of these activities, is generally built of adobe bricks in the shape of a church. In any village where there is a fair number of school people it will be the largest building in the village and even in villages of mixed Christian and pagan population the school building tends to be in the centre of the village, a topographical reflection of the social significance of the catechist and the catechetical school. In the school men and women are separated, men on the right, women on the left, a custom also found in some Angolan parish churches.

The catechist's presence is a mark of the identity of the village. The catechetical school is the only institution which groups people of different domestic groups on a village-wide basis, and in which people participate in a wider set of social relations on a village and not on an individual basis, as people are linked to kinsmen, or to the post or to an employer. One can and does associate oneself with a village if one does not belong geographically to it but simply attends its school. Thus Fernando considered himself as belonging to the village of Ngolo Catolica whose catechetical school he attended, although his house was well away from the main village, being much nearer the Protestant village of Vila Graça, where indeed he had kinsmen. When I asked a woman where she lived she replied by giving the name of the village catechist. The only occasions on which a group of people represent one village *vis-à-vis* another are in connection with the travels of missionaries, and in the wedding feasts, which will be described in another chapter.

A missionary on leaving one village for another has his luggage carried by the school people of the village where he has been staying, who will march singing, with perhaps a boy banging on a drum. When they get to the next village they will be greeted at the entrance into the village by the catechist and

6:Edwards E-5 (1955-1956)1962
FP13 Mbundu FP13

his people, who will be neatly dressed and lined up. The welcoming catechist will deliver a speech in Portuguese, and will conclude with three Vivas one, say, for the Bishop of Nova Lisboa, one for the Mission, and one for the visiting priest. These may be varied—I have heard a Viva for Diogo Cão, the Portuguese navigator who discovered Angola. This formal welcome to a procession seems copied from the welcome given to the party from the bride's village when they arrive at the bridegroom's village; and this welcome has in turn copied elements—speeches in Portuguese and calls for Vivas—from the reception of missionaries. Then both parties singing and dancing will proceed to the house where the priest is to stay. The people of the welcoming village should have taken over his luggage at the point where they met his party—if they have not, his carriers will complain vigorously.

It is the catechist's responsibility to get his people to provide the customary gifts of a chicken or two, and possibly eggs and bananas to the visiting priest. He must explain the spiritual state of the school people to the missionary, notably telling him if any of the Christians have married according to pagan custom. It is to him that the priest will direct criticisms on the state of the school building or on the lack of catechetical knowledge of the people. The catechist has also the obligation to visit the mission occasionally during the year—how often depends on nearness, on circumstances and on his own enthusiasm. The most popular times for visiting the mission are Christmastime, the New Year, Easter, and Corpus Christi, when the catechist may go with a number of the school people, though individual Christians also go alone. A catechist will also visit the mission when he has some catechumens who are sufficiently advanced to be tested on their religious knowledge. He has also a general responsibility to report to the mission the activities of diviners, or Christians who have married polygamously. He may also be responsible for referring other disputes to the mission, or for obtaining a letter of commendation to the post in some dispute.

The catechist, then, does not have much authority of his own; his personal role is that of a teacher and leader of prayers. He can, however, invoke the authority of the mission, which

6:Edwards E-5 (1955-1956)1962.
FP13 Mbundu FP13

even in non-religious matters has influence with the post, and can through this influence effect the arrest of diviners and baptized polygamists, or intervene on the side of somebody called before the post.

A catechist may be removed from his position by the mission for incompetence, or for moral failings, such as unchastity or rum-brewing on an extensive scale. He may also become involved in quarrels with his people, who may say that he is bad-tempered, while he will say that they are disobedient. Such a dispute will be referred to the mission where an attempt will be made to persuade the two parties to sink their differences. If this fails, the catechist may return to his old village, but may become a catechist elsewhere if the circumstances have not been such as to destroy the mission's confidence in him.

There are other ways in which the catechist represents his village. The post may impose certain responsibilities; thus the catechist may be told to record all live births in the village for the purposes of official statistics. The catechist will try and keep on good terms with the policemen who live at the post and visit the villages. The catechist of Epalanga gave a chicken to a visiting policeman and explained that this was a general practice in order that catechists visiting the post for the annual check on their papers should find a policeman who would be good to them. However, a catechist will object to attempts to associate him with the more unpopular activities of the post. Thus when a policeman came to the Epalanga catechist and asked him to help in recruiting labourers, the latter was rather angry. 'My work is to teach doctrine, not to seize people.' Similarly, when visiting a Protestant village once I asked where the government headman lived and was told in rather an irritated tone, 'No, we have nothing of the post here. We have only the school.'

The sense of responsibility which the catechist feels for his village is sometimes counterbalanced by his lack of effective power. Thus in the dry season of 1956 a bridge near Epalanga which was crossed by the track to Chicunda was broken down. Pedro Chiquete Santos thought that this might bring punishment on the villagers, and accordingly appealed for volunteers to repair it. He also asked Jeremias, the Protestant catechist of

6:Edwards E-5 (1955-1956)1962
FP13 Mbundu FP13

797 571 Simbwyikoka, to help. Jeremias turned up with three of his pupils; Pedro, however, had no response. Returning at night to Epalanga, he complained of the attitude of his people, not so much that they had not been ready to help but that they had spread the rumour that he was going to complain to the post. He insisted that he had not said that he would complain to the post; what he had said was that a white labour-recruiter who had had difficulty with the bridge would complain to the post. The attitudes expressed by the catechist are interesting; he feels a responsibility for the village, he has not a corresponding authority to get people to do something which is concerned with the village, but not with the school, but is indignant at the suggestion that he would be willing to denounce his fellow villagers to the post. Indeed, cases arose, which will be described in later chapters, in which a catechist and an elder of the school took an active part in opposing a domineering government headman.

One evening two Kimbundu men, from a different geographical and tribal area, arrived in Epalanga with an unusual story. They had been travelling in the company of a European employer who had suddenly gone off, leaving them without money. This was at a town on the main Luanda–Nova Lisboa road. They had then set out travelling through the villages relying on the hospitality of the catechists to get to the Missão Católica de Bimbe, where they hoped to obtain money to pay bus fares back home. I do not know why they took this way; perhaps as missionary effort to the immediate north of Umbundu country lacks intensity there were no helpful catechists linking the place where they were stranded to their home. What is interesting is that they could rely on the hospitality of the catechists, although they had no kin or tribal bond to appeal to. Here again the catechist appears as the representative of his village who has particular moral duties. Another example of this was when the catechist of Epalanga took part in a funeral as a funeral-friend, which he was, being a native of Ndjandju, the partner-chiefdom of Gumba. He said that he would not take a chicken, as was his right, since he was a catechist, that is, he had special obligations to be generous.

In general the position of the Protestant catechists and elders

6:Edwards E-5 (1955-1956)1962
FP13 Mbundu FP13

of the school seems considerably stronger than that of their Catholic counterparts. This impression is gained by visits to Protestant villages and to episodes like that just quoted, where the Protestant catechist had more success than the Catholic in recruiting volunteers for work on the bridge. The reasons for this lie in the organization of the Protestant Church, which owes its origin to Congregationalist missionaries, and in which the distribution of power differs from that in the Catholic Church. The white missionaries exercise only a supervisory role over the work of the Native Church which is responsible for pastoral activity in the villages. The African clergy of the Native Church are entirely dependent financially on their people.

Compared with Catholicism, Protestantism lays much less stress on the sacraments of baptism and communion and much more on Bible-reading and the religious knowledge of the individual. Hence the teaching role of the catechist is more strongly stressed among the Protestants. For example, the Protestant catechists teach girls as well as boys to read and write. His dependence on the clergy is reduced; indeed, owing to the lay participation in the Umbundu Native Church he exercises some control over them. Among the Ovimbundu, as elsewhere in the world, the 'pyramidal' form of Catholicism is absent in Protestantism in which the position of the clergy is weaker and that of the lay leaders strengthened.

The relative autonomy of the Umbundu Native Church *vis-à-vis* the white missionaries and the disintegration of the traditional system of authority have given judicial powers to its officials. Dr. Childs has written in a recent article:[1] 'In Angola . . . the breakdown of traditional authority has been so rapid that the social life of the villages is now very near to complete anarchy . . . the missions and churches have been compelled to take over. Church leaders—catechists, deacons, and pastors—have taken on judicial functions. Church meetings, both local and regional, have become courts and councils.' He goes on to describe the legalistic attitudes and casuistical morality which is associated with these developments, and suggests that the lack of opportunity for political activity

[1] G. M. Childs, *International Review of Missions*, April 1958.

6:Edwards E-5 (1955-1956)1962
FP13 Mbundu FP13

confines the pursuit of power to the Native Church with unfortunate results. It might, on the other hand, be suggested that the Protestants among the Ovimbundu are the section of the population who have come nearest to building up new systems of authority and law. It might also be suggested that Umbundu Protestantism retains certain historical features of Congregationalism—democratic selection of officials with strict discipline binding members of the congregation, industriousness and zeal for education, and a certain consciousness of being a spiritual *élite*.[3]

Another factor in the situation is that the Protestants are a minority compared with the Catholics and tend to have the heightened self-consciousness of religious minorities. They also tend to isolate themselves from the pagans much more than the Catholics do, both geographically by moving into separate hamlets and separate villages and by the greater efforts they make to understand and follow European custom. Protestants for instance seem to know more how the Portuguese kinship terms should be used.

Ultimately, the position of the catechist, whether Catholic or Protestant, is dependent on his role as a teacher of Christian doctrine, and as being a representative of 'modern' values. It may be said that Christian doctrine and 'modern' values are not necessary identical. It is, however, in this field that the Ovimbundu establish their closest contacts with the Europeans. A Protestant explaining why a kinship usage had been discontinued said: 'We are Christians, we are like the Europeans.' A Catholic catechist arguing the superiority of Catholicism to Protestantism began by saying that the Protestants had no sacraments—then the elder of the school chimed in saying: 'And ours is the religion of the government.' The catechist took up this theme: 'The *chefe de posto* is baptized and married in church, the Governor-General [*sic*] of Nova Lisboa is baptized and married in church.' During my first weeks in Epalanga I was asked by the catechist: 'Are there priests in England?' and replied that in England there were both Catholics and Protestants, on which the catechist commented: 'It's the same thing in Bimbe.'

[3] For the history of Congregationalism see E. Troeltsch, *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches*, London, 1931, Vol. II, p. 661–6.

6:Edwards E-5 (1955-1956)1962
FP13 Mbundu FP13

thing in Bimbe.' That is, church membership is recognized as giving entry to a world-wide grouping. This sense of being linked to the Europeans by participation in the same sacraments is paralleled on the European side by the custom widespread in Angola of whites standing as godparents to their servants or servants' children. More generally, the missions are regarded as being the cause of that social change which is welcomed by Ovimbundu. Thus the fact that this was 'the time of the school' was given by one of my servants as the reason for such improvements as the decline of sorcery and the increase of cleverness.

Ovimbundu Christians are also aware of the doctrinal significance of baptism—when I asked various people 'Why did you receive baptism?' a general reply would be: 'I want to go to heaven', or some equivalent phrase. The apprehension of Catholic doctrine by the Ovimbundu is a complicated subject. It may be said that the receiving of the sacraments is the aspect of religion that has made most impression on the people. In the conversation previously cited, the catechist began by emphasizing the presence of sacraments as the distinctive mark of Catholicism against Protestantism, and then when the elder of the school pointed to the official associations of Catholicism, the catechist developed this by indicating the receiving of sacraments by those in high office. In the same way a catechist may commend somebody by saying: 'He is baptized and married in Church', as we would say of somebody: 'He is a real Christian'. The contact of the people with the priests, whether at the mission, or in the villages, usually involves the making of confessions and the receiving of communion. Cultural traits particularly characteristic of Portuguese Catholicism are little marked with the exception of the social importance of the godfather-godson tie. Christian ideas of the after-life have penetrated among the pagans, who will say that the soul after death goes to God (Suku) except in the case of bad people who go to hell.

The social relations between Christians and pagans are friendly. The old rites in which the sub-chiefdom as a whole participated have disappeared, and the rites performed at the capital, a liturgy which like other aspects of chieftaincy is a shadow of its former self, arouse little public interest. Christians

6:Edwards E-5 (1955-1956)1962
FP13 Mbundu FP13

795 and pagans co-operate in weddings and funerals. In certain aspects of funeral rites, and in commemorations of ancestors the Christians participate, justifying themselves by arguing that they are purely social functions and have no religious significance. This differs from their attitude to the major exorcism [255] rites,[4] which are avoided by Christians, who regard them with some horror, and towards consulting diviners. Although visiting [791] diviners is strictly forbidden by both Catholic and Protestant missionaries, a high proportion of their people do this,[5] but clandestinely. Thus I was told that there were no diviners in Gumba; in fact, there were two living in Epalanga. It is important to remember that there exist nowadays no pagan 'congregations', that is, permanent groups associated with the performance of ritual.

797 177 It is, indeed, through the missions that most of the formal teaching of European culture (apart from the instructions given to labourers and servants) which Ovimbundu receive is given. To the Ovimbundu the missionaries are the Europeans who appear in the most favourable light, and even among pagans the attitude to the missions is without the fear accorded to the post or the suspicion with which the traders are regarded. The missionaries alone run schools, and they provide most of the modern medical services. The missionaries come into far more frequent contact with the people than do the *chefes*, and their relationship with the people is not confined to economics as is that of the traders. The Ovimbundu desire to imitate and learn from Europeans; it is from the missionaries that they have most opportunity of learning, and it is in the African clergy that they have the most clear evidence that this learning from Europeans will bring them results.

797 The organization of the missions is the form of large-scale social structure with which the people are best acquainted, and with which they are most capable of identifying themselves. A

[4] These involve drumming and an open invitation to anybody who wants to turn up. The idea is to persuade the tormenting spirit to pass into a small animal or inanimate object. The minor exorcism (*oku likutilila*) also involves sending the spirit into an inanimate object, but without drumming or the headshaking by the patient which is believed to mark the arrival of the spirit and his acceptance of the offering.

[5] Childs, loc. cit. Personal information.

6:Edwards E-5 (1955-1956)1962
FP13 Mbundu FP13

servant of mine explaining how the Mwekalia chose the chief said, giving me a comparison: 'The Bishop of Nova Lisboa thinks "This priest has sense" and so makes him the superior of a mission'.[6] The disintegration of the old political system, and the association of its representatives with the ritual values which are no longer very significant for the mass of Ovimbundu, has destroyed the old pyramid of authority and prestige. The people associate demands and punishment, for which they seem to receive very little in return, with the post. Many draw a distinction between the actual *chefe* and the government, which they regard as benevolent and ignorant of the behaviour of its representatives. Despite such expressions of loyalty as the singing of the Portuguese national anthem at village parties the 'government' is too distant and shadowy for the Ovimbundu to have much knowledge of it. Nor has the post tried effectively to build up new types of bureaucratic authority in the villages—the government headmen are not given sufficient backing or responsibility by the post to do more than execute its orders.

Hence, the establishment of new types of grouping and leadership at the local level has been the work of the missions, and it is through the missions that these new groupings are articulated on to the total Angolan social system. The missionaries, who provide this articulation between the 'civilized' society and the local organization of the natives, form the section of the 'civilized' population which most satisfies, in its relations with the people, the expectations of the Africans.

To use another term, it is within the Catholic and Protestant Churches that Ovimbundu most clearly identify themselves. Baptism identifies an individual by giving him a name, hence Christians object to non-baptized people identifying themselves in this way. To an individual baptism is significant since it is concerned with his destiny. By it also he identifies himself with the 'civilized' population and achieves a new status superior to that of the pagans. The newly-born child of Christian parents will be given a Christian name and also an Umbundu name from one already held by a dead kinsman.[7] A few villagers

[6] Actually responsibility for appointing superiors of missions largely belongs to the superior of the Nova Lisboa district of the Congregação do Espírito Santo.

[7] For Umbundu names, see Elizabeth Ennis, *African Studies* (Johannesburg) March 1945.

6:Edwards E-5 (1955-1956)1962
FP13 Mbundu FP13

795 551 attempt to take on European surnames. Alternatively, a man may take his father's name and attempt to use it as a surname. Thus Joaõ Batista Tjindandi, a resident of Epalanga, had received Joaõ Batista in baptism, and had taken Tjindandi, his father's name, as a surname. This is, however, not at all a general trend. Even a village of mixed Christian-pagan population may be known by the name of its school, identifying itself by its Christian name.

795 554 A man identifies himself also with social change and with progress by 'entering the school'. When a small girl, whom I asked if she had 'entered into the school' replied 'Not at all', her elder sister's husband remarked: 'She is asleep'. In the general Angolan society the religious referent is the most status-giving type of reference that most Ovimbundu can give.

186 554 There is no very marked feeling in the superiority of one area of Umbundu country to another nor even is there a marked sense of the superiority of Ovimbundu to other tribes—thus the Kimbundu will be highly praised for the degree of European culture they have acquired. The very word Ovimbundu is used as an equivalent of '*pretos*' (blacks) a word not used of 'civilized' Africans, since it is indicative of the lowest colour-class. As a Christian, a man has a status which he shares with Europeans.

797 648 He can also identify himself not only in a general way with the Europeans but more particularly with the general church organization. There is much closer contact between the authority-figures of the church organization and the people than between the authority-figures of the administration and the natives. Thus all Catholics in the Nova Lisboa diocese are confirmed by the Bishop of Nova Lisboa, and have seen him—similarly many of the Protestant Ovimbundu know of Dr. Childs, the headmaster of the Protestant secondary school at Dondi, through having heard him preach at a conference. Some Christian villagers would know the names of pioneer missionaries. Little is known by the people about the personalities or duties of the senior members of their administration, and even their titles are not properly understood.

795 648 The religious differences which exist at local level have no marked significance in the relations of natives to the post. In certain circumstances a pagan may appeal to a Christian

6:Edwards E-5 (1955-1956)1962
FP13 Mbundu FP13

catechist or missionary for support at the post. There is no tendency to confine government appointments to chiefdoms and headmanships to Catholics.[8] However, the Protestant catechists are, unlike the Catholic catechists, not exempt from taxes.[9]

The Ovimbundu no longer possess a coherent political system of their own. They cannot, owing to the nature of their relations with the post and their ignorance of the higher administration, regard the Government as being their representative; the only wide-range systems with which they can identify themselves are the missions. It is through them that the individual is promised eternal life, that the village receives a new type of identity and unity, and that the Ovimbundu as a people participate with the 'civilized' population in ritual communities cutting across the boundaries of culture and geography.

The objection may be made that it is only the Christians who could effectively be represented by the missions and that in Epalanga and Gumba generally baptized Christians formed a minority. It has, however, been previously noted how the school may give its name to a village of mixed population. The catechist will represent both Christians and pagans when he is concerned with the post or with the mission. Moreover, the percentage of pagans in Gumba is far higher than in the rest of Bimbe to which they are linked by the Umbundu language and culture, by administrative divisions, and by a wide range of personal contacts.

It may, then, be asserted, that the catechetical schools and the wider groupings which they build up are the social groups most significant for Umbundu integration on any scale wider than that of the household.

[8] In Gumba the chief and government headman were pagan. There are government-recognized Protestant chiefs elsewhere in Umbundu country.

[9] In some parts of Angola the Catholic catechists are not automatically granted exemption but have to have obtained certain other qualifications, e.g. a certain degree of literacy.

6:Edwards E-5 (1955-1956)1962
FP13 Mbundu FP13

pass[1] and was sent to contract labour. The *chefe* apparently informed his employer that he could get other carpenters from the post.

Paulo, then acting in his official capacity as elder of the school, had intervened in a projected marriage in which Guilherme had received the bridewealth. Guilherme, acting in his official capacity, had attacked Paulo's wife's brothers Francisco and Pedro. The dispute had now been brought within the sphere of the mission (as represented by the priest Antonio Pires) and of the administration which had ordered the recruitment of the two men. The conflict between Guilherme and Paulo was now to widen out to include several other people.

On the 21st January the strain between Guilherme and Paulo showed itself again in violent quarrelling, from which I learnt about the broken engagement of Anna. Paulo said that he would refer the matter to Antonio Pires when the priest came back.

On the morning of the 24th the question was brought before Antonio Pires, the catechist Pedro Chiquete Santos (35), Paulo, and Guilherme all speaking in turn. Then other people raised their grievances. Sapapula declared that Guilherme was the enemy of everybody in the village. A man called Kasosi (7), a sister's son of Wasuka (15), stepped forward to claim that Guilherme had attacked him and injured him. Apparently Guilherme, while having illicit rum in his own house, had beaten up Kasosi for possessing rum. Both Maria, Paulo's wife, and Nahoka, Sapapula's wife, joined in the argument. The only man who seemed in any way favourable to Guilherme was Kapapelo (see List II, p. 55), a mother's brother of his, who was also a 'brother' of Lusase (see List II, p. 55). Antonio Pires came down heavily against Guilherme, at which the latter declared that he owed obedience only to the post and ran off.

Towards the end of the argument Luciano (the former fiancé of Anna) and Jeremias (the Protestant catechist from Simbwyikoka) came to the priest to ask for the repayment of the bridewealth.

On the 25th Lusase, the chief of Gumba, happened to visit

[1] The legal obligation for natives to possess passes is not enforced with the zeal which applies in South Africa.

6:Edwards E-5 (1955-1956)1962
FP13 Mbundu FP13

elder of the school in the sense that there is no sphere where their duties overlap and where they must compete.

The roles of government headmen and of officials of the school are complementary. It is through the chief and the government headman that the Ovimbundu pay their taxes and fines, are recruited as contract labourers and are called to road service, are arrested for crimes and misdemeanours and are entered on official records. It is through the catechists and elders of the school that the Ovimbundu find the expression of village unity by which at the same time they are linked to the whites and to the rest of the world on the religious level. The missions bring the Ovimbundu closer to the whites than does the administration, without the administration's predominant interest in making demands.[5]

While at the level of the total Angolan political system the administration is more powerful than the missions, the position of the catechist or elder of the school is stronger at the local level because the catechist and the elder represent the catechetical school which is the only social grouping existing on a village basis, whereas the government headman in fact represents no social group but is simply an executant of the orders of the *chefe*. Hence the catechist owing to this representative role and to his contact with the mission (which is much closer than that of the government headman) can lead the people and invoke the aid of the mission against abuses on the part of chiefs or government headmen. This would not be the case if the post gave firm backing to its local agents and turned a deaf ear to communications from the missions. Opposition to an overbearing government headman is then likely to be led by the leaders of the 'school', who can count on the backing of the mission, if they have a good case, to intervene for them at the post. The relative importance in a village of the catechist and elder of the school varies according to such factors as personality. The way in which the catechist was ignored when he tried to intervene in the dispute over the bridewealth shows that the catechist cannot claim authority in disputes as a matter of course.

[5] The missions impose fees and a yearly levy on their adherents which are small compared to the official taxes.

6:Edwards E-5 (1955-1956)1962
FP13 Mbundu FP13

The transformation of the dispute between Guilherme and Paulo into what amounted to both a trial of, and an uprising against, the government headman is not purely accidental but is a natural consequence of the principle latent in the social organization by which the 'school' leaders complement and can check the chief and government headman.

The case also indicates the limited nature of their roles. Both Paulo (by preventing Anna's marriage) and Guilherme (by getting Francisco sent to contract labour) can strike at the other through the lawful exercise of their authority; any real attack on the other's position involves an appeal to either mission or post, and hence brings about a trial of some sort. Guilherme finding that the quasi-trial before the priest went against him, tried to bring the case before the post, but realizing that this also was likely to go against him came to terms with his enemies. That is, any determined attempt to solve a dispute is likely to involve at least the threat of a reference to the post or the mission.

The power of the priest to intervene in the actions of the agents of the post is limited. Thus Antonio Pires did not intervene in the case of Francisco but advised him to get a letter from his employer. It is, however, notable that the missionaries are not simply appealed to by Catholics. Protestants like Jeremias and Luciano, and pagans like Kasosi and Sapapula, were ready to appeal to the priest although the initiative came from Paulo. That this is so is a convincing argument for the claim which has been made that the catechetical school represents the whole village, although it could also be claimed that it reflects rather an aspect of 'civilized'-native relations in the total Angolan system, clientship, as the typical form of relations between the two groups, with the missions being the patrons *par excellence* to whom all natives are at least potentially clients. The general well-being of all natives is the concern of the missions, who are therefore liable to be appealed to in such cases as this.

In particular cases where there is another patron to appeal to his aid will be sought. This patron-client situation will crop up again in the account of subsequent disputes. Its origin historically lies in the history of attitudes to employees and to

6:Edwards E-5 (1955-1956)1962
FP13 Mbundu FP13

by other villagers. Nor does residence in a village or sub-chiefdom compel or limit participation in a dispute. Neither Ndjoleya nor any of his kin participated in the dispute between Paulo and Guilherme. Gregorio came from Menga to support his friend Sapapula against Lusase, acting as a private individual, and not as the chief of Menga intervening in the internal politics of a neighbouring sub-chiefdom.

The social institutions participated in exclusively by Ovimbundu (i.e. the system of kinship and marriage and the local organization) do not provide machinery for resolving disputes. Therefore, binding decisions must be obtained from a representative of the 'civilized' society, and much importance attaches to setting out the details of the case in such a way as to gain the interest of this representative. It would seem likely from this that all cases will pass into the hands of the *chefe*, and that those 'natives' who are most closely linked to the post—the chief and the government headmen—will therefore be the most influential people in indigenous society. In fact, as the disputes show, this does not happen. Cases are taken to other 'civilized' persons—the priest Antonio Pires and the *soi-disant assimilado* Justino—and Lusase, instead of making up on the bureaucratic roundabouts what he has lost on the traditional swings, falls heavily off both.

The willingness of villagers to submit their cases to Justino and the mission rather than to the post is a result of the much closer personal contact which exists with them, and their lack of direct punitive sanctions. Any case referred to the *chefe* is thought liable to produce uncertain consequences. It was because of this that the people of Gumba did not dare to complain to the post about Lusase's usurpation; for this reason, too, Guilherme, knowing the *chefe* trusted him no more than any other native, sought reconciliation before getting to the post. The chief and government headman neither enjoy official confidence nor control access to the post.

On the level of the total Angolan society the State is obviously more powerful than the Church. On the local level the chief and government headmen have more executive power[11]

[11] The capacity to give orders backed by force; but this only applies to orders received from the post.

6:Edwards E-5 (1955-1956)1962
FP13 Mbundu FP13

than the catechists and 'elders of the school'; yet the weakness of the agents of the post before a local opposition led, not by such traditional figures as Kafelo and Sapapula, but by the school functionaries, has been demonstrated. The post accepts intervention by the mission in supporting disputants, and the mission is ready to help not only its disputants but any native who has a strong case—that is, it has a generalized relation of patronage to all natives.[12] Hence, since in a serious dispute people look round for a 'civilized' patron, the mission is the one most likely to be appealed to, and these appeals usually go through its local agents.

While the symbiosis of two societies, one ruling, the other ruled, is a common feature of modern Africa, the extremely limited nature of the role delegated by the administration to the native authority, the 'patron-client' tie linking 'civilized' persons to the natives, and the opportunity given to patrons to intervene in cases before the *chefe*, seem to be distinctive features of Portuguese colonization.[13]

The third aspect of the social structure mentioned in the introductory section was the role in disputes of kinship ties. It has been earlier noted that Sapapula's supporters regarded him as a victim of a concerted alliance by Guilherme, Kapapelo, Lusase, and Ndonga. In fact Lusase had avoided getting involved in the dispute between Guilherme and Paulo, had supported Sapapula against Kapapelo, and had disclaimed responsibility for Ndonga's act. The present social structure is not one in which groups of kin habitually co-operate;[14] and it is possible that this belief in a coalition against Sapapula reflects memories of the old social structure.

Kinship ties between individuals seem neither to restrain them from quarrelling nor to be liable to permanent disruption as a result of quarrels. By August 1956 Kasosi was once again

[12] It is felt in administrative circles that the advancement of the African is mainly the responsibility of the missions.

[13] Anybody who knows the Portuguese well will acknowledge the importance given to personal influence (*cunha*) and the lack of esteem for bureaucratic (in the Weberian sense) procedures.

[14] See Chapters IV and VII for details on the kinship cores and on general aspects of kinship. The support which Sapapula received was not confined to his own kinship core—thus Gregorio who enthusiastically supported Sapapula was not even a kinsman.